

the President submitted that treaty to the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification.

Much has happened since then. For example, Congress funded the Department of Energy's Stockpile Stewardship program to ensure that U.S. nuclear weapons remain safe and reliable in the absence of nuclear testing.

We are building new state-of-the-art facilities that will enable scientists to replicate processes that occur in nuclear explosions. We are developing new computers to permit the complex modeling that is necessary to understand nuclear explosions and to test new component materials or designs. We are conducting sub-critical experiments that are permitted under the Test-Ban Treaty.

We are also inspecting annually each type of nuclear weapon in our arsenal, so that problems associated with the aging of those weapons can be identified and corrected without a need for nuclear weapons tests. These inspections and corrective actions enable our nuclear weapons establishment to certify on an annual basis that there are no problems that require renewed nuclear testing.

In short, then, the United States is showing the world that it is, indeed, possible to maintain nuclear deterrence under a test-ban regime.

We are also showing the world that it is possible to verify compliance with the Test-Ban Treaty. Verification is never perfect, but the nascent International Monitoring System has functioned well enough to severely limit what a nuclear power can learn from undetected testing.

Last May, India and Pakistan conducted nuclear weapons tests. Critics of the Test-Ban Treaty note that the International Monitoring System—some of which is already in place—did not predict those tests. Of course, the verification system was never intended to predict nuclear weapons tests, only to detect them and to identify the country responsible.

The International Monitoring System and other cooperating seismic stations did a fine job, in fact, of locating the Indian and Pakistani tests and estimating their yield. By comparing this year's data to those from India's 1974 nuclear test and from earthquakes in the region, seismologists have shown that this year's tests were probably much smaller—and less significant in military terms—than India and Pakistan claimed.

Most recently, the Senate voted to fund continued development of the International Monitoring System. The national interest requires that we learn all we can on possible nuclear weapons tests. I am confident that the Senate made the right choice in voting to restore these funds.

When it comes to the Test-Ban Treaty itself, however, the Senate has yet to speak. The Committee on Foreign Relations has yet to hold a hearing, let alone vote on a resolution of ratification.

In the great Sherlock Holmes mystery "The Hound of the Baskervilles" the crucial clue was the dog that did not bark. On this treaty, the Senate has been such a hound.

Now, why won't this dog bark? I think it's because the Senators who keep this body from acting on the Test-Ban Treaty know that it would pass. A good three-quarters of the American people support this treaty. In fact, support for the treaty has increased since the Indian and Pakistani nuclear tests, despite disparaging comments by some treaty opponents.

Worse yet, as far as some treaty opponents are concerned, India and Pakistan are talking about signing the Test-Ban Treaty. That would chip away mightily at the claim that this treaty will never enter into force, even if we ratify it. The fact is that with U.S. leadership, we can get the world to sign up to a ban on nuclear explosions. I am confident that we will do precisely that.

Treaty opponents have it within their power to stifle America's role in the world and diminish our ability to lead. They also have it within their power, however, to help foster continued American leadership in the coming year and the coming century. I believe that, in the end, their better instincts—and a sober recognition of where the American people stand—will prevail.

The Senate will give its advice and consent to ratification of this treaty—not this year, but next year. The Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban may be two years old today, but it is also the wave of the future.●

#### CTBT ANNIVERSARY

● Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, today marks the two-year anniversary of the opening for signature of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. On September 24, 1996, President Clinton was the first to sign the CTBT at the United Nations in New York. A total of 150 nations have not signed the treaty, including all five declared nuclear weapons states, and 21 nations have ratified the CTBT.

This week also marks one year since the President transmitted the CTBT to the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification. Unfortunately, one year later the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has yet to hold its first hearing on this historic treaty.

Mr. President, this delay in considering the Treaty not only hinders the Senate from carrying out its constitutional duties; in light of the events in India and Pakistan, it is irresponsible for the Senate to continue to do nothing. It is irresponsible for the security of this nation and the world.

The Indian and Pakistani nuclear tests in May served as a wake up call for the world. We are confronted with the very risk of a nuclear arms race beginning in South Asia. India and Pakistan, as well as their neighbors, have

emerged less secure as a result of these tests. I believe that these tests demonstrate the tragic significance of the Senate's failure to take action on the CTBT. We can no longer afford to ignore our responsibility to debate and vote on the treaty.

Today's press reports that both India and Pakistan have stated their intention to sign the CTBT by September 1999. I want to welcome these announcements by India and Pakistan. The steps are in part the result of an intensive U.S. diplomatic effort, and I congratulate the Administration on this success. India's and Pakistan's commitment to halt nuclear testing is critical to reducing tensions and preventing a nuclear arms race in South Asia.

The adherence of India and Pakistan to the CTBT will also enhance prospects for the treaty to enter into force sooner. According to its provisions the CTBT will enter into force when 44 countries have nuclear technology have ratified it. With India's and Pakistan's signatures, all 44 of these countries except one, North Korea, will have signed the CTBT. The addition of India and Pakistan as Treaty signatories marks a significant step toward making the CTBT a reality.

Now more than ever, it is imperative that the Senate begin its consideration of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. Senate action on the CTBT would send a clear signal to India and Pakistan that nuclear testing must stop. It would strengthen U.S. diplomatic efforts to reduce tensions between these two countries and persuade them to give up their nuclear ambitions. But signature of the CTBT by India and Pakistan is only the first step in the process of bringing stability to South Asia. Senate action on the CTBT can help build momentum as additional measures are sought for defusing the volatile situation.

Ratification of the CTBT is also critical to U.S. leadership in strengthening the international nonproliferation regime. The risk of nuclear proliferation remains a clear and immediate security threat to the international community as a whole.

Our efforts to reduce the threat of nuclear proliferation have produced significant successes this decade. Several countries, including South Africa, Brazil, and Argentina have abandoned nuclear weapons programs. Under the START Treaty nuclear weapons have been withdrawn from Belarus, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan.

The United States must continue to lead international efforts to halt and reverse the spread of nuclear weapons. For the United States to be effective in strengthening international nonproliferation measures, we need to demonstrate our own commitment to a universal legal norm against nuclear testing.

U.S. ratification of the CTBT is in our national security interest. The United States has observed a testing

moratorium since 1992. The other declared nuclear weapons states, Britain, France, Russia, and China, have joined us in halting their nuclear testing programs. It is in our interest for these countries to continue to refrain from such testing, which might otherwise contribute to their designing more advanced weapons that are smaller and more threatening.

The treaty would not prevent the United States from doing anything we otherwise would plan to do. There is no need for renewed U.S. nuclear testing. Nuclear weapons experts from my home State of New Mexico tell me that they have a high level of confidence in the reliability and safety of the U.S. nuclear stockpile.

We are committed through the Stockpile Stewardship Program to ensuring the future safety and reliability of our stockpile in the absence of nuclear testing. Our strong support for this program in the years ahead is critical for U.S. national security under a comprehensive test-ban regime.

Mr. President, the American people recognize the grave danger that a new nuclear arms race in South Asia would pose, not only to U.S. national security but also to the security of the international community. They understand that further nuclear testing threatens to undermine international efforts to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. That's why a recent nationwide poll conducted by the Mellman Group found that 73 percent of the American public believe that the Senate should approve the CTBT, while only 16 percent believe we should disapprove the treaty (11 percent responded "don't know"). This finding of overwhelming support for the treaty occurred after India conducted its nuclear tests.

Therefore, I urge the Senate to begin debate on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. I have sent a letter to the Chairman of the Armed Services Committee requesting that the Committee begin holding hearings on this historic treaty. We need to bring in the experts from the military, intelligence, and scientific communities so we can hear what they have to say. I believe that through such hearings Senators' concerns will be resolved in favor of a CTBT.

For the sake of our security and that of future generations, we must not let this historic opportunity to achieve a global end to nuclear testing slip away. •

#### RECOGNITION OF HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES IN GEORGIA

• Mr. CLELAND. Mr. President, as designated by the Senate, September 14-20, 1998, is celebrated as National Historically Black Colleges and Universities Week. I am pleased to take this opportunity to recognize the achievements of these fine institutions of higher education and to pay a special

tribute to the ten Historically Black Colleges and Universities located in my home State of Georgia. The 104 historically black institutions of higher learning throughout the United States are cornerstones of African-American education and play an integral role in the lives of African-Americans and in American history.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities have set a high standard for providing quality instruction and valuable, lifelong experiences to students. Though sometimes faced with adversity, historically black colleges and institutions have provided students with the opportunity to broaden their horizons and to reach their fullest potential.

As I have mentioned, my state of Georgia has the privilege of being served by ten of these fine institutions: Albany State University, Clark Atlanta State University, Fort Valley State University, Interdenominational Theological Center, Morehouse College, The Morehouse School of Medicine, Morris Brown College, Paine College, Savannah State University, and Spelman College.

Albany State University, the previous Albany Bible and Manual Training Institute, Georgia Normal and Agricultural College and Albany State College, was ranked by U.S. News and World Report among the top colleges and universities in the South in September 1997. In a recent special report to Black Issues In Higher Education Magazine (July 9, 1998), ASU was ranked among the top 100 producers of degrees for African Americans in three key areas—education, health professions, and computer information Science.

Clark Atlanta State University is a comprehensive, private, urban, coeducational institution of higher education with a predominantly African American heritage. It offers undergraduate, graduate, and professional degrees as well as non-degree programs to students of diverse racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic backgrounds. U.S. News and World Report lists Clark Atlanta among the best universities in the United States in its 1996 "America's Best Colleges" guide.

Fort Valley State University, founded in 1890, is a public, state and land-grant co-educational liberal arts institution located in central Georgia's Peach County. The Georgia Board of Regents designated Fort Valley State as a fully accredited University on June 12, 1996, continuing in its leadership role as the only senior college or university in the University System with a mission in all four disciplines—academics, research, extension and service.

Interdenominational Theological Center, established in 1958, maintains its position as the nucleus of theological education for African Americans in the world. Six historic African American seminaries comprise ITC. They are: Gammon Theological Semi-

nary (United Methodist), Charles H. Mason Theological Seminary (Church of God in Christ), Morehouse School of Religion (Baptist), Phillips School of Theology (Christian Methodist Episcopal), Johnson C. Smith Theological Seminary (Presbyterian Church USA) and Turner Theological Seminary (African Methodist Episcopal).

Morehouse College, founded in 1867 as the Augusta Institute, is a small, liberal arts college with an international reputation for producing leaders who have influenced national and world history. The institution is best known for the work of graduates such as Nobel Peace Prize laureate Martin Luther King Jr., former Secretary of Health and Human Services Louis Sullivan, MacArthur Fellow Donald Hopkins, Olympian Edwin Moses, filmmaker Spike Lee, and a number of Congressmen, federal judges, and college presidents. These alumni, and a long list of other Morehouse men from one generation to the next, have translated the College's commitment to excellence in scholarship, leadership, and service into extraordinary contributions to their professions, their communities, the nation, and the world.

The Morehouse School of Medicine became independent of Morehouse College in 1981. The Morehouse School of Medicine is a predominantly black institution established to recruit and train minority and other students as physicians and biomedical scientists committed to the primary health care needs of the underserved and is fully accredited by the Liaison Committee on Medical Education and the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools.

Morris Brown College, founded in 1867, is a private, coeducational liberal arts college engaged in teaching and research in the arts, humanities, education, social and natural sciences. The College is committed to developing, through strong academic, continuing education and cultural enrichment programs, the skills needed to function as a literate citizen in society for persons of all socio-economic status.

Paine College, founded in 1880, has a history tied to the history of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church and the United Methodist Church. The College was founded to establish an educational institute to train Black ministers and teachers. Throughout its history, Paine has been a distinctively Christian college. It has maintained deep concern for the quest for truth and has been resolute in blending knowledge with values and personal commitment. Paine has been historically dedicated to the preparation of holistic persons for responsible life in society.

Savannah State University, founded in 1890, is the oldest public historically black college in the state of Georgia. SSU offers 26 undergraduate and graduate degrees in three schools—the College of Business Administration, the College of Liberal Arts and Social